1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and the subsequent apprehension and cruel punishment of his murderers (26, p. 34).

Many fights occur at *pola* fishing (p. 146). Some young man on the outside of the fishing fence, where all except the officials belong until the signal is given to cross it, seeing his enemy close at hand among the *kauleo* deliberately crosses the fence and fishes on the wrong side. His enemy strives to break his spear and drive him back. Other young men take sides and use their spears for purposes other than fishing. It is the duty of the older men to stop such fights (*toutakao*).

To call a person *matapapanga* (flat-faced person) constitutes an outrageous insult to the man or woman so denoted.

A sort of preemptive right to all the women of their districts was accepted by the people as a chief's prerogative. The late Ata used to lie in wait for women beside the road, and none dared complain, because he was a high chief.

A great chief, whose daughter or other female living with him was seduced, would order people to bring the culprit, and the chief himself, or someone delegated to do so, would beat the man over the face and body with a branch of *loholoho* (coconut stem from which small nuts hang), and send him home. The girl would be beaten also and might be sent back to her seducer after a beating in public or in presence of her family. A seducer was beaten even though a chief, provided the girl he seduced was of higher rank and provided marriage did not follow at once.

A man who had intercourse with a young girl before her first menstruation would be beaten severely or killed, according to the extent of the anger of the girl's relatives. The father of the girl or her maternal male relatives avenged her, but not her brothers.

No compounding for the crime of raping a young girl was tolerated. If a daughter of a high chief was raped and the culprit knew that the chief had knowledge of the fact, the man would go and tell his whole family of what he had done. The family would ask the grandson of the chief to intercede, and wearing girdles of *ifi* leaves around the neck and waist, would go to the father of the outraged girl. The man and his family would sit down outside the chief's house, bow down their heads and send his grandson in to him. The grandson would call out the chief's name and say: "Excuse me. These people have come here with me. Excuse me, don't be angry, or if you are angry do what you like to me, but let these people go free." The grandson and not the son of the chief would be the interceder because the son must show respect to both father and sister, while the grandson may take liberties. If the chief were clement, the affair was ended. No gifts were given, for if he accepted gifts it would be disgraceful, as it would look like encouragement of the act. It was customary for

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A chief's son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son.

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehcka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect.

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the repositories of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date.

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root, origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile fihi*)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers.

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names.

Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES

INTRODUCTION

The Tongan is an incurable conversationalist. He is a fine orator, and a critical judge of public speaking, equally gifted in conversation. Sociable, humorous, keen-witted, he is admirable in the give-and-take of conversation and banter. A joke is rewarded with peals of laughter. An oddity is summed up in a pointed phrase. Tongans are keen and swift judges of character. A salient feature in the stranger's appearance or character is quickly seized upon. These people have a strong vein of satiric humor which soon strips off a man's disguises; but is not unkindly, and is equally ready to do justice to his virtues. Intelligent and interested in the great world, they welcome into the circle of conversation the foreigner, or the native who has travelled or is able to read the newspapers, and relish his accounts of lands and events outside their own little kingdom.

In ordinary social intercourse, no less than on great ceremonial occasions, the Tongan is remarkable for his dignified courtesy. The lowest born, as well as the chief, has a refinement of manners, which is without servility, and makes his behavior free from embarrassment, even in the presence of the highest chiefs. It is safe to venture the guess that a badly behaved Tongan has spent much time in one of the European settlements. Tongan social usages are strict in their demands, and this unembarrassed correctness of behavior, free from shyness or effrontery, is not a little striking. The foreigner who has spent many happy years with these people must not omit to express his appreciation of the kindly forbearance, not unmixed with amusement—for the Tongan cannot resist a joke—with which the social lapses of the stranger are overlooked, nor the frequent invitation to dispense with some usage which might be irksome to him.

Story-telling is largely in the domain of the older women. The general term for a tale is *fananga*. An institution like the Maori colleges, *whare whananga* (custodians of sacred lore), seems not to have existed among the Tongans. The stories in this work, and in Gifford's Tongan Myths and Tales (22) are *fananga*. It will be seen that the subjects of many are the old gods and kindred topics; but the compositions of a modern novelist would also be *fananga*. A name applied especially to tales of the old gods, creation myths, and the like, is *tala tupua*, which seems to mean either tale of the long ago or tale of mysterious powers, the divine, supernatural. There is a scrap of verse which may possibly refer to prize-giving for story-telling.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the two Ships while working in, with whom we traded for hogs, fowls & vegetables only as the other articles had been prohibited by the Captain as at Annamooka.

WEDNESDAY 11th. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with cloudy weather. In the forenoon we pitch'd a tent just by the house mention'd yesterday, which is almost the only one here as the country near it is not at all cultivated. The horses cattle & sheep &c were afterwards sent on shore and a party of marines with their officer to protect the people. We discoverd two or three ponds near the place but they had all very bad water, though we found one on Pang'ia motoo that had rather fresher water than any we have met with amongst the islands, but rather dirty from the little care taken of it by the natives.

A good many Canoes came off & barterd Yams, Cocoa nuts and a few hogs but they were not near so numerous as yesterday, though we expected a much brisker trade here than any place we had been at from its greater extent.

THURSDAY 12th. The wind SE. Gentle breezes with very fine weather. On the evening we arriv'd here the Captain brought on board a person who had attach'd himself to him as a friend when he touch'd at this island in 1773, and another who had done the same with Captn Furneaux, who commanded the Adventure. Amongst other things they mention'd a person nam'd Maree'wagee,[1] who they said was of the first consequence in the place and as they were understood superior to Poulaho, to whom he was related, but so old that he liv'd in retirement and yet was held in great veneration. It excited his curiosity so much that he proposd yesterday to Poulaho that he should pay him a visit, which the other readily agreed to and offer'd to accompany him, at the same time saying he would send previous notice to Maree'wagee that such a visit was intended him. The Captain accordingly set out in the pinnace this morning carrying some things with him as a present, and Captn Clarke joind him in one of his own boats. We went round Makka'hàà to the eastward, and then turning to the SEward according to Poulahos directions row'd up into a spacious bay whose entrance from the east side of Hòòlaiva to the opposite point seems to be about two miles, the breadth within that three and the depth near four, but it was so full of shoals that we found it difficult to get up with the boats. The east and west sides are low, with some creeks running into the last farther than we could see edgd with mangroves, but at the bottom or SE part the land rises to

[1] Macaliuaki.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

desired they might fire at an empty Canoe which lay upon the Beach at the Distance of about 100 yards. The marines fired at it several times but when the Indians run to examine it they found only one ball had hit it, but that having gone through each side was sufficient to convince them that it would be rather imprudent to stand in its way. Presently, after the Marines had withdrawn, about a hundred Indian Warriors in battle array made their Appearance with Phenow at their Head, each bearing a small weapon in his hand about 2 feet long, very slender & of the shape of a spade, they seemed to use them instead of Clubs like we do Foils in fencing. They were drawn up in a regular Line three deep with two Drums beating in front. They began their Exercise by twirling their Instruments slowly according to the Measure beat on the Drums, several of the Chiefs at the same time singing in a gentle deep Cadence & lifting up their Legs & inclin[in]g their Heads & Bodies to each Side alternately, keeping exact time; by degrees the Drum and the Song grew louder & quicker, which was accompany'd by their Movements which at last became violent to a great degree; they ran backwards & forwards the rear Rank being sometimes in the front and the front in the rear. After continuing these maneuvres some time there ensued a Pause; then they began again in a slow measure and went through the several Degrees of quickness as before, & thus repeated the same Exercise several times. It was observ'd that Phenow, who appeared to be their General, was always at the beginning of their Exercise in the center of the front rank, but by the Course of their different Evolutions he was sometimes in the rear Rank & in the Wing of that rank, so that there did not seem to be any fixed Station for their Leader, nor was he distinguished from the rest by his weapon or any other Mark of Eminency. Every one seemed to perform the same Duty without any Advantage over his fellow warriors but what was to be derived from bodily Strength or superior Skill. To us who could hardly seperate the Idea of Decrepitude & weakness from old age, it was matter of peculiar Delight & admiration to behold the Vigour & activity of the old Men, who in performing their military Exercise were not to be distinguished from the young ones any otherwise than by their grey Locks and venerable Countenances. Once or twice while a Pause was made in their Exercise a Man advanced in the front of the line with a Club in his Hand, who jumped and turned about as quick as possible, brandishing his Club & twirling it about in a strange & violent Manner, this he continued for about a Minute and then retired to his Rank. Perhaps on the day of battle his office may be like the Champions of old to challenge the opposite Party to single

/20 cont./

sexual explicitness. (14)

14. Cf. even J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 177. Lighthearted--and [capable of being] untroubled--that is the impression the observer has to this day, of the majority of Tongans.

/21/ Courtesy within the village community /15/

15. See also Farmer, loc. cit. p. 150.

on the smaller islands has scarcely diminished. In a place like Nuku'alofa, however, because of the larger number of people (about 5000 inhabitants) and the gradual urbanization (motor traffic, shops, etc.) a certain measure of estrangement has taken place, though any Tongan inhabitant can come uninvited to any other for a meal. Here one may notice that in general only the old people greet a European passing by. A certain relaxation of good manners, especially among the young Tongans in the major towns, is largely attributed to the influence of the foreign troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war, (16)

16. The negative influence of foreign troops through money surplus, in part bad personal examples and incitement to acts which were unknown to the Tongans or seemed morally intolerable (selling and usury where formerly one gave and made presents, theft, i.e. procuring something in devious ways, drinking and methods of producing alcohol, prostitution).

particularly the presently rather frequent theft. (17)

17. At the time of foreign troops you could often get many things effortlessly; some Tongans with "freer" attitudes thus tend to obtain, likewise "effortlessly," desired articles where a purchase or at least a request is customary.

However, such property offences have by no means become widespread even in a seaport like Nuku'alofa (18)

18. The only rooming house in Nuku'alofa has unlocked rooms and closets!

/69 cont./

593 784 178 brother-sister taboo, seem to have occurred only during the past decades, for the stricter rules are still clear in the memory of all older people. The child-father taboo has been extensively relaxed because the belief /70/ in the power of this taboo (sickness or death as punishment for non-observance) is to a considerable extent lost on the "enlightened" present generation. A certain [562] observance of the brother-sister taboo may be explained as an exaggerated natural sexual avoidance among siblings, as well as the brother's social recognition of the ordinarily higher rank of his sister; for the restrictions mentioned are observed for reasons of "good upbringing" and not because of fear of the punishing power of a taboo.

593 562 Although the woman in Tonga society enjoys a highly respected social position, the man in the family has full authority, even if [178] his wife originally comes from a higher social rank than he. This state of affairs is the same as in ancient Tonga. (201)

201. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 98, 179.

592 428 When the head of the family dies, the eldest son becomes the head of the family. If he proves unqualified, the next older brother [178] takes his place. This arrangement very probably existed even in ancient Tonga.

842 Today, as in pre-European times, these natives are not familiar with birth control. Suggestions to the government by white officials for birth control fell on deaf ears. No one among the people seems to be interested in birth prevention. Children cause relatively little expense, for more eaters at daily meals will soon mean more helpers for work. Only a few members of the government foresee the threat of overpopulation of the islands in 30 or 50 years.

887 Old people living with younger married couples or independently

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed, to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177 178 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure [797] [595] [592] of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the missionaries who were the most important representatives of European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan [585] [423] [642] marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the church wedding, (203)

203. Including registration with public authorities. and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization, 177 797 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/ innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance, family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries, created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even [581] the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward marriage. (204)

[837] 204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

276 /198 cont./
262 chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic
272 beverages.
273

Of all these luxuries, kava alono belongs to ancient Tonga.
276 Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was
504 already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 144 ff.

[198] It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

276 /199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with
[199] the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke. The
276 younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported
199 English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey
439 about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

276 Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the
887
178

/199 cont./

276 887 178 tobacco that has for some times been cultivated on many of the native plantations in Tonga, and from this, together with dried pieces of banana leaves (hulu ifi tapaka), they smoke the "suluka," the size of which is between a cigarette and a cigar.

They prefer to cut banana leaves (usually of the hopa variety) early in the morning when they are fresh with dew; if the leaves are too dry that are moistened for a moment with fresh water. After the leaves have been pressed (for example, under a bed) and dried, they are cut in rectangular pieces. On each of these is placed a small quantity of tobacco, dried and cut fine, and the whole is rolled into a conical shape. The leaf is held in this position while the tip of the "suluka" is folded over and then bitten off just before it is smoked.

The natives usually take only a few puffs of the "suluka"; it often goes out, whereupon they stick it behind one ear and, after some time, often hours later, they relight it and continue smoking. The tobacco is strong. Old Tongans who are used to this weed, generally refuse the tobacco and cigarettes of whites.

276 (372) The natives usually light their cigarettes as well as the "suluka" with glowing coconut husks with which they traditionally keep the fire going and which they like to take along when they go to their plantations.

(199) Very few Tongans smoke European pipes.

Tobacco chewing is not very widespread; apparently only the indigenous tobacco is chewed.

261 199 /200/ Some boys, girls, men and women today are fond of chewing gum, which probably became known in the Archipelago through the American troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war.

262 432 Many natives of both sexes and various ages are fond of sucking

/202 cont./

245 The entire copra production is carried out chiefly by the men.
(462) However, women and girls often help and even do such heavy work as
(857) splitting open the nuts and removing the meat. Children and old
(887) people of both sexes take part as far as they are able, especially in the easier tasks.

245 Copra is not always and everywhere prepared in this way; the
258 drying huts are more widespread on some islands than on others, and a number of Tongans, limit themselves to drying the meat of the coconuts in the sun for several days. It is only since the second World War that the Tonga dry the copra themselves. Before that the white dealers bought the cut-up coconut meat from the natives and dried it at their trading stations. Since they often bought large quantities and their storage places were limited, they were not always able to handle the copra carefully, and particularly during prolonged rainy periods they stacked the "green copra" and the "dried copra" in alternate layers in their warehouses, in order to dry the former. This method often resulted in a dark and slimy product. Through the creation of the
(435) Tonga Copra Board /cited in English/, which permits the natives to carry out the drying process themselves and gives them a stimulus for good work by staggering the prices (for A, B and C quality), Tongan copra has improved a great deal and has risen from almost the poorest level of the entire Pacific to approximately Ceylon-quality.

423 According to present-day law, which has superseded the arbitrary
425 power of chiefs, every Tonga who is granted an api'uta (527)
245 527. See pp. 172-173.
656 must plant 200 coconut /203/ palms. In practice, however, there are sometimes more, sometimes fewer palms on the individual plantations, either scattered over most of the api'uta or concentrated on one-half
245 of the land. The copra production of individual families remains about
433

/224 cont./

462

MEN	WOMEN
House- and boat-building	Helping clean up after plantation land has been made arable Halping with copra work, earth-oven preparation, etc. Gathering seafood Making hair- and body oil

887 Old people usually work along with the family to the extent that their strength permits. Those who cannot or need not work independently usually stay on at home and busy themselves with lighter tasks. Men,
462 for example, help in copra-making (drying), plait the crude coconut-leaf baskets or the "pola" (see p. 311) and make the coconut-fiber cords
868 (kafa); the women make mats, for example. Children grow into their
859 later tasks and duties as a result of the help which their parents demand of them at an early age (generally beginning at five or six years years). On the whole, they probably help their parents more than they play. Thus the boys lend a helping hand on the plantations, bring home some field products, help in drying the copra, often learn a few fishing methods at an early age and, /225/ along with the girls, carry water and bring in firewood; the girls help with many kitchen tasks (for example, shucking coconuts and scraping the kernel meat), they help with the laundry, they learn, at the age of 10 or 12, the various types of plaitwork, and even at this age assist in tapa-
857 making. In addition, mandatory school attendance in all the settle-
871 ments of the Archipelago takes up a great deal of time of the children of all ages.

462 This division of labor generally holds true, but it is not absolutely rigid. Thus, cooking is often done by the men instead of the women. Some men induce their wives to do rather hard work on the plantations, and it is the fate of a few single women that they are obliged to do plantaion owrk. A (young) man rarely works at mat-